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ABSTRACT

This study sought to identify a norm for teaching development at five different higher education institutions. Identifying institutional norms is important because much of individual behavior in an institution is governed by such norms. Faculty (N=145) at five institutions (a community college district, two liberal arts colleges, a comprehensive university, and a research university) completed a survey about the teaching expectations they perceive from their respective institutions. A perceived norm for teaching development existed at only one of the liberal arts colleges. Examination of the policies at the five institutions revealed that the one institution that exhibited a teaching development norm was also the institution with the strongest policies supportive of the teaching role. Analysis and scoring of institutions on their policies found that only the liberal arts colleges had hiring policies that required a teaching demonstration during the interview process; that two institutions weighed teaching heavily in the tenure granting process; and that all but the urban liberal arts institutions had teaching development activities in place. Results suggest that teaching norms are closely associated with institutional type, but institutional type does not completely explain the differences in teaching norms. (Contains 30 references.) (Author/JB)

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Faculty Perceptions of a Teaching Norm at Five Institutions

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Abstract

Much of individual behavior in any institution is governed by norms. The purpose of this study was to identify a norm for teaching development in five different institutions of higher education . One hundred and forty-five faculty at five institutions (a community college district, two liberal arts colleges, a comprehensive university, and a research university) completed a survey about the teaching expectations they perceive from their respective institutions. A norm for teaching development existed at only one of the liberal arts colleges. Some observers of trends in higher education have noticed that many college and university leaders are initiating policies to enhance the status of teaching in higher education (Edgerton, 1993). An examination of the policies at the five institutions in this study revealed that the one institution that exhibited a teaching development norm was also the institution with the strongest policies supportive of the teaching role. As institutional leaders strive to encourage faculty development at their institutions, they may best do so by initiating policies which support faculty in their teaching endeavors.

Faculty Perceptions of a Teaching Norm at Five Institutions

One of the defining features of a profession is that members are responsible for monitoring the quality of their colleagues' work. For this reason, the scholarly activities of the academic profession have been thought to be governed by norms. Since teaching, the other aspect of the academic profession, is such an autonomous activity, it was thought *not* to be governed by norms (Dill, 1982). Braxton, Bayer, and Finkelstein (1992) challenged this assumption through a study of teaching behaviors.

Braxton, Bayer, and Finkelstein (1992) began to outline the normative environment for teaching in higher education by developing the *College Teaching Behaviors Inventory.* Their inventory lists 126 behaviors related to teaching and asks faculty members to rate whether the behaviors are appropriate and should be encouraged, are inappropriate and should be discouraged, or are discretionary. Their results reveal four domains of teaching behaviors which are considered to be highly inappropriate These are: *interpersonal disregard*, *particularistic grading*, *moral turpitude*, and *inadequate planning*. Braxton et al (1992) contend that these four domains represent norms and that they are operating strongly enough such that violation of them would result in a negative sanction. The negative sanction is informal intervention "by colleagues or administrators suggesting change or improvement."

The study by Braxton and his colleagues may be one of the first to attempt to portray the expectations for teaching behaviors within colleges and universities. The norms they identified, however, reflect severe transgressions of teaching responsibility. Interpersonal disregard refers to behaviors which reveal disdain or disrespect toward others-- either students or colleagues. Making condescending comments to students in class, not keeping office hours, and making negative comments about a colleague in public are examples of inappropriate behaviors. Particularistic grading means that giving grades based on social or personal characteristics is inappropriate. Any kind of moral turpitude is

also inappropriate. Such behaviors include coming to class while obviously intoxicated or having a sexual relationship with a student. The fourth domain is inadequate planning. This could mean, for example, that it is inappropriate not to prepare a syllabus for class or to be ill-prepared for class due to involvement in scholarship. I wondered if other kinds of teaching norms might also be identified.

When compared with expectations for research, some have argued, the faculty member's role as a teacher is not valued, supported, or rewarded at most institutions of higher education (Apps, 1988; Bassis, 1986; Boyer, 1990; Cheney, 1990; Fairweather, 1993; Mauksch & Howery, 1986; Soderberg, 1985). We can imagine that some institutions are more likely to value and support teaching than others. Those institutions which value teaching, I propose, would communicate a set of expectations about certain behaviors to encourage faculty to be as effective teachers as possible -- they would foster an environment for teaching development.

I developed an instrument based from Braxton et al's (1992) *College Teaching Behaviors Inventory*. I selected seven items from their inventory with two main criteria in mind: 1) Items describe behaviors which suggest that the institution values teaching and expects that faculty give special attention to their teaching skills or to students. Items do not recommend any particular *style* or *method* of teaching because many different teaching styles can be equally effective; 2) Items were selected to maximize variation between institutions. As such, the expectation that faculty grade student work according to only the students' abilities, while indicative of an environment that values teaching, is an expectation that exists everywhere (Braxton et al, 1992). On the other hand, the expectation that faculty take time to learn about students' background and experiences, for example, may not exist everywhere. The following seven statements meet these criteria:

1) Sharing ideas about teaching methods with colleagues.
2) Introducing new teaching methods or procedures.
3) Sharing syllabi with colleagues.

4) Observing each others' classroom teaching.

5) Attending professional development activities to enhance teaching.

6) Incorporating knowledge of different learning styles into one's teaching.

7) Spending time with students outside of class time or office hours.

The purpose of this study is to identify whether or not these seven items form a factor from which we might identify a specific kind of teaching norm -- a norm for teaching development. The presence of such a norm would be one indication of a teaching culture. To embark on a study of teaching culture is particularly significant at this time. Observers of trends in higher education have noticed that many college and university leaders are initiating policies to enhance the status of teaching in higher education (Edgerton, 1993). If these reforms are to be successful, institutional leaders must understand the norms that currently influence faculty behavior, and must understand which institutional policies can shape those norms.

In this paper I describe the methods I used to test for the existence of a teaching norm in five different institutions of higher education: a community college district, two liberal arts colleges, a comprehensive university, and a research university. The results revealed that a teaching norm exists only at one of the liberal arts colleges. I then present a brief description of faculty policies at each institution and argue that policies which support the teaching role may contribute to the formation of a norm for teaching development.

A Conceptual Framework: Norms Theory

Hackman (1976) outlined three ways in which group norms influence individuals. Norms influence an individual's beliefs and knowledge, an individual's attitudes and emotions, and an individual's behavior. The group serves as a source of stimuli. These stimuli can include direct instructions about work behavior, indications of approval or disapproval, or money and other incentives to encourage conformity with expectations. Hackman calls these stimuli discretionary, because the group dispenses them to specific

individuals as needed to enforce conformity. When an individual behaves incorrectly and the group directly informs her of her error, the new information changes an individual's beliefs and knowledge. Norms also directly influence attitudes if the rewards for expected behavior are very satisfying. Individual behavior can also be directly influenced through the application of rewards and punishments even without an accompanying change in attitude.

In short, norms are shared opinions and beliefs about how individuals within an organization ought or ought not to behave (Jacobsen & van der Voordt, 1980; Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1973; Morris, 1956). This definition suggests that three requirements must be met in order to determine the existence of a norm. A norm exists in an organization when a significant proportion of institutional members agree that certain behavior is expected, when they themselves conform to the expected behavior, and when they are able to identify sanctions for failure to conform to expected behavior (Morris, 1956; Shimanoff, 1980). (Since norms are more likely to be recognized when an individual fails to exhibit expected behavior (Braxton, Bayer, and Finkelstein, 1992), I have focused this study on norms which influence behavior through negative sanctions.)

I created a framework to demonstrate that each of these three requirements must be met in order to conclude that a certain norm exists in a specified group. There are three columns: **E** stands for consensus about *e*xpectations; individuals share the knowledge that a behavior is expected. **C** stands for *c*onformity to the shared expectation. **S** stands for *s*anctions. A **1** or **0** appears under each of the three columns; a **1** means that the characteristic is present and a **0** means that it is not. My goal is to identify a norm for teaching development in higher education. The framework guided my thinking about how such a task might be completed. In the next section I describe the participants, instrument, and methods I used to determine whether or not some particular institutions have developed a norm which may influence specific kinds of teaching behaviors.

E	C	S	
1	1	1	When individuals (within a defined social group) agree on what behavior is expected of them, conform to it, and are aware of sanctions to encourage or discourage that behavior, they are behaving under the influence of a norm (Morris, 1956; Shimanoff, 1980).
0	0	0	If a statement about a behavior gains no agreement that it is expected, if conformity to the statement is not displayed, and if there are no sanctions attached to the behavior, then the stated expectation for behavior does not function as a norm (Morris, 1956).
1	0	0	Individuals may perceive that a certain behavior is expected of them, but if there are many instances of nonconformity, and if negative sanctions for not conforming are absent, then a *value* exists, not a norm (Morris, 1956). For example, most people agree that getting regular exercise is important, but not everyone conforms and there are no social control mechanisms for ensuring that individuals do conform.
0	1	0	If the majority of members within an organization are behaving similarly, but share no expectation for such behavior, they are acting according to their individual values, which may be similar due to socialization (Rossi & Berk, 1985). Since there is no group consensus on what behavior is expected, the behavior cannot be said to be norm-governed.
0	0	1	Theoretically, a situation in which there are sanctions for behavior of which nobody is aware and to which nobody conforms, doesn't exist. There ought not be sanctions for discretionary behavior.
1	1	0	If the majority of members within an organization are behaving similarly and they agree that the behavior is expected, but there are no sanctions to encourage conformity, the individuals are behaving under the influence of group *values*, not group norms (Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1973; Morris, 1956).
1	0	1	Individuals may agree that a certain behavior is expected and may even be able to articulate sanctions in response to that behavior. However, if conformity doesn't result, it could mean that the sanction is not powerful enough (Braxton, Bayer, & Finkelstein, 1992).
0	1	1	There is no theoretical evidence that a group of individuals would be conforming toward behavior that is sanctioned if they didn't also agree that the behavior is expected.

Method

With this framework in mind, I predicted that faculty at some institutions would be more likely than faculty at other institutions to perceive a norm for teaching development. Typologies of organizational culture by Birnbaum (1988) and Bergquist (1992) suggest that teaching norms are most likely to exist in the collegial culture and the bureaucratic (or managerial) culture. These two types are represented by the community college and the liberal arts institutions in this study. Norms are less likely to develop in political and anarchical institutions (represented by the comprehensive university and the research university, respectively). Thus, the hypothesis is: A teaching norm will exist at the community college district and at the two liberal arts colleges, but not at the comprehensive university nor at the research university.

The data for this study comes from the New Faculty Project, a project of the National Center for Postsecondary Teaching, Learning, and Assessment. The New Faculty Project's goals are to survey and interview newly hired faculty at a variety of institutional types to gain knowledge about their experiences in a new institution (Menges, 1992a). The five colleges and universities were chosen because they planned to hire unusually high numbers of new faculty for the 1991 - 1992 academic year and because of their strong commitment to gender and ethnic diversity. I have given each of the institutions a pseudonym. They are Corma Community College, Rural Lib College (liberal arts), Urban Lib College (liberal arts), West State University (comprehensive university), and Scholar University (research university). Two liberal arts colleges were selected because small colleges are unlikely to have more than a half dozen new hires per year. These two colleges are geographically near each other and are part of the same consortium of liberal arts institutions.

Participants

In the fall of 1991, approximately one-third of the way into the first academic term, the research team for the New Faculty Project mailed a 16-page questionnaire to all newly

hired, full-time, tenure-track faculty at the five institutions. In the fall of 1992, again one-third of the way into the first academic term, we mailed a second survey to those who had responded in 1991. Table 1 below shows how many newly hired faculty existed at each campus in 1991 and the number and percent of those faculty who completed both surveys.

Table 1
Number of Respondents in 1992

Institution	Number of New Hires in 1991	Number (and %) of 1992 Respondents
Corma	61	43 (70)
Rural Lib	8	8 (100)
Urban Lib	10	10 (100)
West State	77	39 (51)
Scholar	69	45 (65)

This sample is particularly useful for a study of norms. Although these faculty have a range of career experience, they have all finished one year at their current respective campuses. As such, they have completed the critical "encounter stage" of socialization to a new institution (Louis, 1980). According to Louis, during the first six to ten months on the job, the newcomer acquires knowledge about roles and the expectations, incentives, and sanctions for performance. Twelve months after beginning their jobs, these new faculty members should be able to articulate the norms of their institutions.

Instrument

I constructed a three-part instrument to capture these three dimensions of norms -- perceived expectations, behavior, and sanctions. The first part asks respondents to indicate the degree to which they perceive that their institution expects a certain behavior. The second part asks the respondent if she or he exhibits the particular behavior (indicating conformity). The third part asks the faculty respondent to list the negative consequences

meted toward anyone at the institution who failed to exhibit the behavior. A copy of the instrument is attached as an appendix.

Factor Analysis

I selected the seven items that comprise each of the three parts of the instrument with the assumption that they are behaviors in which one might engage to become as effective a teacher as possible. Factor analysis supports this assumption.

I included all seven items in a factor analysis using the answers to the survey question, "Indicate how expected it is for faculty on your campus to engage in each behavior." The varimax solution resulted in two factors. The first factor accounted for 49.2 percent of the variance. All items had a loading of at least .31 on the first factor except for item c, which loaded with a negative .02. Clearly, item c does not belong with the other items as something which contributes to the underlying concept of "behaviors that may help one to become as effective a teacher as possible."

I repeated factor analysis without item c. As expected, only one factor was extracted which explains 54.7 percent of the variance. The six items making up the factor result in a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) of .83. Table 2 shows the factor loadings for this second factor analysis.

Table 2

Factor Analysis of Items A, B, D, E, F, and G: Behaviors that are Expected of Faculty

Item	Factor 1 Loading[a]
A	.73
B	.82
D	.58
E	.78
F	.84
G	.67

[a] Factor 1 has an eigen value of 3.28 and explains 54.7 percent of the variance.

I created a new scale score which includes all items except item c. I named this score *Expectations*, which I assume taps into a latent variable describing expectations for behaviors which could help to enhance one's teaching effectiveness. I computed Expectations by adding each of the six items (a, b, d, e, f, g) and then dividing by six.

For the next set of questions on the instrument faculty were asked, "How characteristic is each behavior of you?" Since item c was dropped from the factor Expectations, I did not include item c in the factor analysis for this second set of questions. One factor was extracted which explained 52.3 percent of the variance. The reliability (alpha) is .81. Table 3 lists the factor loadings.

Table 3

Factor Analysis of Items A, B, D, E, F, and G: Behaviors that are Characteristic of Faculty

Item	Factor 1 Loading[a]
A	.73
B	.79
D	.66
E	.78
F	.81
G	.54

[a] Factor 1 has an eigen value of 3.14 and explains 52.3 percent of the variance.

I summed all the items, divided by six, and called this second factor score *Behavior.*

For each item on the survey, respondents were asked to indicate the consequences if a faculty member failed to engage in any of the behaviors. An individual received a score of "0" if they indicated that "nothing would happen" to a faculty member who failed to behave in the specified manner, and a score of "1" if an individual indicated that at least one kind of sanction would be meted out.

Following the computation conventions used for Expectations and Behavior (excluding item c), I computed a new variable and called it *Sanctions*. The six scores were averaged for an overall *Sanctions* score. Individuals received a Sanctions score of "0" if they indicated that "nothing would happen" for any of the behaviors. They received a score of .16 if they indicated that there are sanctions for any one item, a score of .33 it they said there are sanctions for any two items, etc. They received a score of 1.0 if they indicated that every one of the six behavior items is sanctioned.

The literature suggests that a norm exists where there is general agreement about expectations for behavior (i.e., consensus), where individuals conform to those

expectations, and where individuals are able to recognize negative sanctions for violations of those expectations. To interpret the hypothesis, I recoded the variables Expectations, Behaviors, and Sanctions into three dichotomous variables. Table 4 shows how each of the variables was recoded.

Table 4

Recoded Values for Expectations, Behavior, and Sanctions

Variable Name	Factor Score	Recoded Value
Expectations	1.00 - 2.33	0
	2.50 - 4.00	1
Behavior	1.00 - 2.33	0
	2.50 - 4.00	1
Sanctions	0.00 - 0.33	0
	0.50 - 1.00	1

Table 4 shows that if an individual scored at least 2.5 on Expectations, at least 2.5 on Behavior, and at least .50 on Sanctions, then that individual perceives Expectations (coded as 1), reports that her own Behavior (coded as 1) is consistent with those Expectations, and perceives Sanctions (coded as 1) for violations of Expectations. In order to conclude that a norm exists in an institution, a critical proportion of individuals need to score "1" on each of the three variables. I followed the mathematical model by Jacobsen and van der Voordt (1980) to determine that critical proportion. I pause here to present their model.

Consensus

The defining feature of norms is that they are *shared* opinions or beliefs. Researchers have agreed that the beliefs need not be shared by everyone (Gibbs, 1965; Jacobsen & van der Voordt, 1980; Morris, 1956; Rossi & Berk, 1985), but some critical proportion of the population must agree that certain behavior is expected. The proposition

is that a stated expectation can only be normative if it is accepted by a sufficient proportion of the population. What is that level of sufficiency? Jacobsen and van der Voordt (1980) developed a formula based on the modal frequencies of responses to survey questions I provide an example in order to demonstrate Jacobsen and van der Voordt's formula:

> Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement.
> *Faculty here should attend conferences to keep abreast of developments in their fields.*
> 1 = disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = somewhat agree, and 4 = agree.

Total consensus would occur if everyone judged the expectation the same way. Total dissensus would exist if the responses were evenly distributed among the four choice categories. Jacobsen & van der Voordt (1980) define the midpoint between total consensus and total dissensus as sufficient to claim the existence of a norm, and that the norm is stronger as distribution moves toward consensus.

Figure 1 demonstrates this concept. The y-axis reflects the proportion of people responding to the most frequently-chosen category (p_{k1}). The x-axis represents the number of response categories (k). In our example, k = 4 so 1/k or 25 percent of the respondents in each of the response categories would represent total dissensus (marked on the graph with a "D"). The formula for the mid-point between total consensus and total dissensus is 1/2 (1 + 1/k), or 62.5 percent (marked on the graph with an "M").

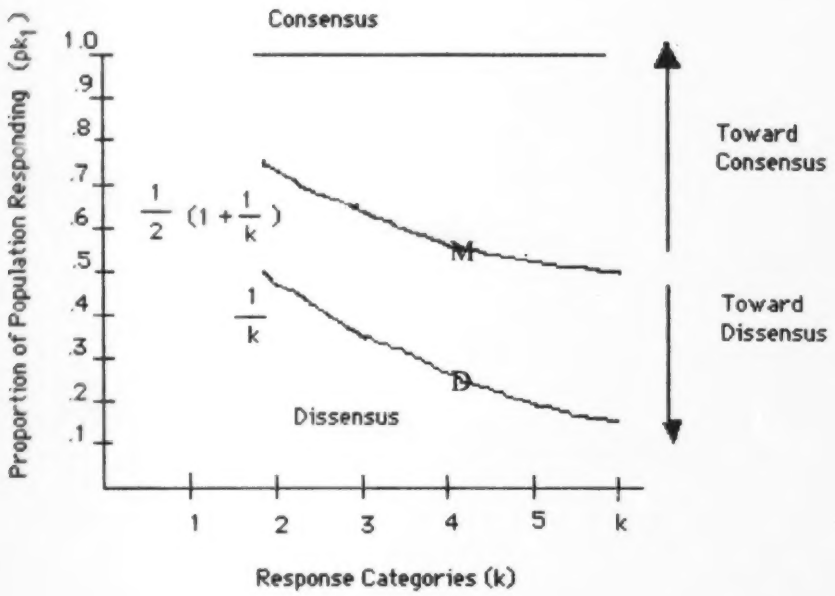

Figure 1. A model to determine group consensus. Reprinted with permission from Sage Publications, Inc., "Interpreting modal frequencies to measure social norms," by C. Jacobsen and T. J. M. van der Voordt, © 1980, *Sociological Methods & Research*, *8*, pp. 470-485.

Looking at the sample question, let us assume that of 100 respondents, 10 faculty responded *1*, 30 responded *2*, 60 responded *3*, and no faculty responded *4*. The most frequent response, *3*, is only 60 percent of the population. Under these guidelines, we would conclude that the response does not represent consensus. That is, although 60 percent is a majority of responses, with four response categories from which to choose, 60 percent is not large enough to contend consensus.

The mid-point between total consensus and total dissensus is the point at which a *representative* norm exists (Jacobsen and van der Voordt, 1980). In a complex social world representative norms rarely exist. Jacobsen and van der Voordt calculated another standard to measure *prominent* norms. The difference between the most frequent response (pk_1) and the second most frequent response (pk_2) is the measure used to reveal a prominent

norm. The greater the difference between pk_1 and pk_2, the more likely that pk_1 reflects a norm.

Returning to our example above, there is a 30-point difference between the most frequent response and the next most frequent response. Is this difference enough to suggest the existence of a prominent norm? It depends on how big the proportion of responses is for both the most frequent and the next most frequent. If the two highest response categories account for most of the responses (in this example pk_1 (response category 3) and pk_2 (response category 2) represent 90 percent of all responses), and there is still a substantial difference between them (30 points), we can conclude that a prominent norm exists. Using these relaxed guidelines, 60 percent *is* sufficient to claim consensus: Most faculty "somewhat agree" that faculty should attend conferences.

Returning to the present study, I have recoded Expectations, Sanctions, and Behavior into three dichotomous variables. That is, for each variable there are only two response categories: $k = 2$. When $k = 2$, the formula to determine a prominent norm is $1/k$. (See Jacobsen & van der Voordt (1980) for a full explanation of this formula.) It is sufficient here to say that a teaching norm will exist when at least 71 percent of respondents (1/2) perceive Expectations (that is, score 2.5 or more), perceive Sanctions (that is, score .5 or more), and report their own Behaviors as consistent with expectations (that is, score 2.5 or more).

Results

Table 5 shows the proportion of faculty at each institution who indicate that they perceive expectations, who indicate that they perceive sanctions, and who report their own behavior as consistent with expectations.

Table 5

A List of Criteria for Norms at Five Institutions.

Institutions	% Scored ≥ 2.5 on Expectations	% Scored ≥ .5 on Sanctions	% Scored ≥ 2.5 on Behavior
Corma	59.5	50.0	**85.7**[1]
Rural Lib	**87.5**	**100**	**100**
Urban Lib	30.0	62.5	40.0
West State	44.7	44.4	61.5
Scholar	11.6	12.5	42.5

[1] Numbers in bold indicate that a sufficient proportion of people reached consensus for each set of questions.

Only at Rural Lib College do a critical percentage of faculty (over 71 percent) have a score over 2.5 on Expectations, over .5 on Sanctions, and over 2.5 on Behavior. That is, most new faculty at Rural Lib perceive that the institution expects them to exhibit certain teaching behaviors, most new faculty perceive negative sanctions for not engaging in these certain teaching behaviors, and most new faculty report that they conform to the expectations. Thus, among new faculty members a norm for teaching development exists at Rural Lib College. The criteria for a teaching norm were not met at any of the other institutions. The hypothesis is only partially confirmed. I correctly predicted that a teaching norm would exist at Rural Lib College and that a teaching norm would *not* exist at either West State nor at Scholar University. I incorrectly predicted that a teaching norm would exist at Corma and Urban Lib College.

Institutional Policies

What might account for the different perceptions of norms at these five institutions? In their comprehensive review of organizational culture, Peterson, Cameron, Mets, Jones, and Ettington (1986) identified six academic management practices which can influence teaching behavior. These include hiring guidelines; performance evaluation systems,

teaching awards, policies for tenure, promotion, and merit pay, and faculty development opportunities.

We can see how these practices are related to one another. Without a selective hiring policy, evaluation policies would be overly burdensome. Without a thoughtful evaluation system, tenure, promotion, and merit increases would be meaningless. Without tenure, promotion, and merit policies to reward effective teaching as well as teaching awards to recognize exceptional teaching, there may be little incentive for faculty to attend instructional development programs, workshops, or seminars. In this section I compare the five institutions in terms of these policies. I gathered information about the policies from faculty handbooks, college guides, and other official documents. Observers of organizations know that what organizational leaders say they do is often different from what they actually do (Birnbaum, 1988). Even if discrepancies exist between official documents and actual behaviors, these documents still provide insights into what the leaders of an organization consider important. Thus, the descriptions below are developed from official documents only.

After I discuss a policy I assign a score (1 - 5) to each institution which reflects how well I believe the policy supports teaching development compared to the other institutions. The criteria I use to make the determinations come from my review of the literature. A lower score is better. I may rank each institution as 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 if they seem so ordered. I may alternatively assign common scores if the policy at one institution seems just as comprehensive as the policy at another institution (e.g., 1, 1, 1, 5, and 5).

Hiring policies. Institutional leaders can communicate expectations for teaching during the very first contact with potential faculty members: they might require a teaching demonstration during the interview process. Among the five institutions in this study, the central administration requires faculty candidates to give demonstrations of their teaching effectiveness during the interview process only at Rural Lib and Urban Lib Colleges. At all other institutions, individual departments (or individual campuses in the case of Corma)

may or may not require teaching demonstrations. The faculty handbook at Scholar University states that candidates must have evidence of past teaching experience, but does not detail how that teaching experience is evaluated.

Since Rural Lib and Urban Lib Colleges are the only colleges which have an institutional policy to require teaching demonstrations during the interview process, I gave them scores of one. The other three institutions receive scores of 5 for not requiring all faculty to provide teaching demonstrations during the hiring process.

Evaluation procedures. The literature on teaching evaluation suggests that the best evaluation systems are those which consider multiple sources of information about teaching effectiveness and those which occur regularly (Cashin, 1989). All of the institutions evaluate the teaching performance of their newly hired faculty. The administration at Corma requires two types of evaluation. First, students in all courses are asked to complete a standard, quantitative evaluation form at the end of each term. Second, once a year each pre-tenured faculty member receives three classroom visits -- one from the Dean, one from the department chairperson, and one from a peer of the faculty member's choice. The classroom visits are meant to be both formative and summative. Administrators discuss the classroom observations with the faculty member. A poor evaluation will lead to suggestions for improvement.

The evaluation at Rural Lib College is also both formative and summative. The college suggests that faculty use standard student evaluation forms at the end of each term, but they are also encouraged to assess their teaching through their own means. Formal evaluation doesn't occur until the third year. At that time 60 students (half carefully selected to represent the diversity of students served and half randomly selected) are asked to provide detailed accounts of the professor's teaching strengths and weaknesses along with suggestions for improvement. All departments are required to arrange classroom visitations. The faculty member must also submit a self-evaluation for the third-year

review. The faculty member discusses the evaluation results with the dean as part of the third-year review.

The administration at Urban Lib requires each faculty member to maintain a Faculty Personnel File which must be updated annually. This file contains all information relevant to the faculty member's work at the college. Regarding teaching, the file may contain course evaluations from students, letters from colleagues who have taught with the faculty member or observed her teaching, letters from current and former students, as well as an optional self-statement of teaching philosophy and self-improvement efforts. The faculty member has an opportunity to discuss with the chairperson the previous year's performance and goals for the new year.

Teaching evaluations are also both formative and summative at West State University. Each year, students from two of the faculty member's courses are asked to complete a standard student evaluation form. These forms become a part of the faculty member's personnel file along with several other pieces of evidence of teaching effectiveness. This evidence includes comments from peers who have observed the teaching (two classes per year), letters from current students and alumni, evidence of student success after graduation, and a personal statement of teaching goals and course objectives. All of this evidence is considered during retention, tenure, and promotion reviews, but the faculty handbook recommends that deans and department chairs "meet regularly" with individual faculty members "to inform [them] of the appropriate criteria, standards and expectations, [and] to apprise them of their strengths and weaknesses. . ." "Meet regularly" is not specified.

At Scholar University, only one course per year is formally evaluated by students with standard evaluation forms provided by the university. A colleague will also visit one class per year. The chairperson meets with each member of the department annually to discuss the evaluations.

I considered two criteria to rank the institutions in terms of their evaluation practices: 1) Are several sources of information collected to assess teaching effectiveness? 2) Is there an opportunity for the faculty member to discuss her performance annually? Using these criteria, I chose Corma as the college most committed to evaluating teaching effectiveness. Faculty receive feedback every semester through student evaluation forms and every year through discussions with peers who have observed their teaching. Urban Lib is ranked second. The use of the Faculty Personnel File at Urban Lib is both comprehensive and allows for annual faculty review, but sources of information about teaching is limited unless the faculty member chooses to evaluate his own courses. West State is ranked third. The evaluation system there is also comprehensive, but there is no university policy to ensure that faculty receive administrative feedback on an annual basis. Scholar University is ranked fourth. Although faculty there have formal discussions with their chairpersons each year, the material available for discussion is sparse -- only one course per year is evaluated by students and only one peer visits a classroom. I ranked Rural Lib as last. Although its evaluation procedure seems to be as comprehensive as the other institutions, faculty are not formally reviewed for the first time until their third year.

Teaching award. At best, teaching awards recognize those who excel in the classroom, spotlighting a model for others to emulate. At worst, faculty consider a teaching award to be the "kiss of death," (Menges, 1992b). The "kiss of death" signifies that the recipient is a poor researcher and may therefore not be awarded tenure. Between these two extreme views, some people believe that teaching awards are tokens -- replacements for a true commitment to teaching through tenure, salary, and other permanent rewards (Weimer, 1990). From an earlier study of teaching award recipients (Quinn, 1993) I suggested that carefully structured and generous award programs would support the teaching role. I proposed that such programs should widely advertise the call for nominations, should use clear criteria for selecting winners, should choose as many winners as possible, and should have generous monetary or other valuable awards.

The teaching award at Corma goes to one faculty member at each of the individual campuses who has used educational technology to enhance student learning. Faculty, administrators, and staff may nominate. Each of the campus award recipients is invited to a recognition banquet and one teacher from the district is selected to attend a national conference on educational technology.

Rural Lib College does not offer a teaching award. When I asked about such an award, an administrative assistant told me, "We don't like to set one teacher above another. Everybody is great here."

Funding for the teaching award at Urban Lib College recently ceased. The administration hopes to find new funding. Each year, the administration invites faculty and students to nominate candidates for the teaching award. A committee of past winners and students selects one teacher, who receives recognition and $2500. No formal criteria currently exist to select award recipients, a change the administration plans to make when new funding for the award is found .

West State University participates in a state-wide Outstanding Professor competition. The Chancellor asks deans and chairs to nominate deserving faculty. Nominations must include detailed evidence of teaching excellence, including a list of course taught, letters from students and colleagues, and student evaluations. A faculty committee makes two or three recommendations to the President who then makes the final decision. The winner at each institution in the state receives $1000 and becomes eligible to be selected as the state's Outstanding Professor -- which offers a cash award of $4000.

Scholar University selects four faculty each year to receive the Distinguished Teaching Award. Faculty, students, administrators, and alumni may nominate professors. A committee of faculty, students, alumni, and the Provost consider the nominees using an explicit set of criteria. Each of the four winners are recognized at an awards reception and receives $3500.

In summary, of the four institutions that offer teaching awards, Corma is the least generous, West State awards the fewest teaching awards per total faculty population, and Urban Lib College is the least clear in its criteria for selecting winners. I was surprised by the response at Rural Lib. Considering the response I received from the administrative assistant – "We don't like to set one teacher above another" -- and considering that all of the other institutions award very few teachers, I decided that Rural Lib actually has the best teaching award policy. That is, administrators there chose not to create a system which would indicate that only one of their faculty members deserves to be called a great teacher. I gave Rural Lib first ranking. If a teaching award program is to exist, however, it should be done fairly and with generous support. Thus I rank Scholar University as the best program and give it a score of 2. West State is ranked third because it selects only one winner for the campus and the award is less generous. I rank Urban as fourth because the criteria for selecting winners has, in the past, not been formalized. I rank Corma as fifth because its award is not for good teaching in general, but rather for the teacher who can use technology in the classroom. Although such encouragement may be desirable, it certainly leaves faculty not using technology out of consideration.

Tenure and promotion procedures. The tenure decision is perhaps the most important point in a faculty member's career. Studies have shown that excellent teachers, but average researchers, are sometimes denied tenure and excellent researchers, but mediocre teachers have been awarded tenure (Bassis, 1986; Kasten, 1984). Thus, among the five institutions in this study, I looked for policies which explicitly award tenure to excellent teachers.

At Corma Community College faculty are hired with probationary status and remain with that status through their sixth year. If the teaching evaluations have been satisfactory, then the faculty member is awarded with appointive status. Since teaching is the primary responsibility of faculty at Corma, clearly the tenure decision supports teaching.

At Rural Lib College, there are expectations to both teach well and to make contributions to one's field, but the faculty manual clearly states that "demonstrated excellence in teaching is the most important concern in the consideration of a candidate for tenure."

The tenure policy at Urban Lib College is a little less committed to teaching. The faculty handbook states that teaching, research, and service are all important for tenure consideration, but that they need not be given equal weight. While this could result in the tenure of an excellent teacher whose research is weak, it could also result in the tenure of an outstanding researcher who is lacking in the classroom.

The tenure policy at West State is strongly committed to teaching. The policy states that teaching and service are the primary criteria for tenure, and explicitly defines the teaching role as classroom teaching, the development of new courses, involvement in continuing education, and supervising and evaluating instructional experimentation. Research productivity is also considered for tenure, but the policy clearly makes it secondary.

The faculty handbook at Scholar University states that the tenure decision is based on both teaching and on research performance. The policy does not specify how performance in the two roles is weighted.

Because Corma, Rural Lib, and West State all place primary emphasis on teaching during the tenure decision, I have ranked each of them at 1. I rank Urban Lib as 4 because although it awards good teachers with tenure, it also awards poor teachers. Scholar is ranked fifth because the tenure policy does not make teaching the primary criteria.

Merit pay. Like tenure and promotion policies, merit pay policies can support teaching if merit is offered to faculty who show exceptional performance in teaching. Unlike teaching awards, merit pay is a way to reward *all* faculty who teach well. At Corma Community College, faculty advance on a salary scale with years of service. There is no special merit for those who excel at teaching, but a poor teaching report can result in the

denial of the annual step increase. The denial of an otherwise automatic salary increase also exists at West Coast University for poor teaching performance. At Rural Lib College, the president solicits information from each department chair to determine how to award merit to each faculty member. Like the policy for tenure and promotion, teaching is the primary criteria. At Urban Lib College the chairperson of each department considers merit increases to faculty who have made "notable achievements" in any of the three areas of teaching, research, or service. Scholar University also offers merit pay to faculty for overall performance in teaching and research, but the faculty manual does not specify how performance in these two roles is weighted.

The denial of a salary increase for poor teaching performance may be a stronger statement of expectations for teaching than the awarding of merit to superior teaching. Therefore, I rank Corma and West State at 1 for having the stronger statements. I ranked Rural Lib and Urban Lib Colleges at 3 for awarding merit to superior teaching. Scholar University is rated fifth since faculty there only receive merit increases for superior performance in both teaching *and* research; an exceptional teacher will not get a merit increase if research is not also exceptional.

Teaching development activities. Most colleges and universities today have some kind of instructional development program (Cochran, 1989). A comprehensive teaching development program provides feedback to faculty on their teaching, helps them to decide on changes, provides materials for implementing changes, and assesses the impact of those changes (Weimer, 1990). I looked for these features in the descriptions of the faculty development activities at each of the institutions.

At Corma Community College, instructional feedback is provided to faculty through student evaluation forms and peer observations as described earlier. The teaching development center does not offer any additional methods of feedback to faculty. To help faculty decide on teaching changes, the center offers consulting and many workshops and seminars throughout the year. The district also offers travel funds so that faculty may attend

conferences on particular topics of teaching innovation. In order to help faculty implement planned changes in teaching, the center maintains a library of journals, books, instructional software, and microfiche.

The teaching center at Rural Lib College opened in the fall of 1992. To help faculty identify the areas of their teaching that need improvement, the center offers a video-taping service. After a particular class is video-taped, a teaching consultant discusses the recording with the faculty member. The center offers workshops, group discussions, a newsletter, and travel money to conferences to help faculty gain the knowledge needed to make changes. The center also has a library of resources and the staff there encourages faculty to evaluate the impact of the instructional changes.

At the time that faculty were surveyed at Urban Lib College in the fall of 1992, the college offered no teaching development center. A committee developed a proposal during the following spring. The proposal asks for funds to develop means to provide formative feedback to faculty and to support faculty discussion groups.

West State supports two teaching development centers. One of the centers provides the materials and resources needed to use technology in the classroom (e.g., instructional films, audio-visual equipment, and audio-visual production) and the other provides consultations, workshops, seminars, faculty retreats, and discussion groups to help faculty examine their teaching. Faculty receive feedback on their teaching regularly from student evaluation forms, but the center does not provide any special services to help faculty assess the impact of specific changes.

Scholar University also offers instructional help to its faculty. In addition to the regular student evaluation forms, faculty can receive more specific feedback by requesting a video-tape of one of their class sessions. A consultant will then discuss the recording with the faculty member to identify specific problems. The consultant may also help to organize a group of students who can be trained to provide useful feedback to the instructor. Consultants and a network of volunteer faculty help other faculty to decide on needed

changes. The teaching center provides the resources and materials needed to make changes through a library of books, videos, and audio recordings.

All of the institutions but Urban Lib had teaching development activities in place at the time of the survey. I rank Rural Lib and Scholar University with a 1 because they offer specific feedback to faculty through video-taping and consultation (West State and Corma only offer student evaluations as a means to identify teaching weaknesses.) I rank West State and Corma at 3 because like Urban Lib and Scholar, they offer the means to help faculty decide on needed changes and the resources to implement them. Urban Lib is ranked fifth, not only because the teaching center didn't exist in the fall of 1992, but because the plans to develop a center do not include acquiring the resources to help faculty implement changes.

To summarize, Table 6 shows the five institutions and how I ranked them for each of the six policies.

Table 6

The Ratings of Six Institutional Policies at Five Institutions.

	Institutions				
Policies	Corma	Rural Lib	Urban Lib	West State	Scholar
Hiring	5	1	1	5	5
Evaluation	1	5	2	3	4
Award	5	1	4	3	2
Tenure	1	1	4	1	5
Merit Pay	1	3	3	1	5
Development	3	1	5	3	1
Total Points	16	12	19	16	22

Using this comparative and systematic rating scale, Rural Lib College has the lowest score. That is, based on previous studies of policies in higher education, I have determined that the policies at this institution are more supportive of teaching compared to the policies at the other institutions. Scholar University has the highest score. These results are consistent with the survey findings: Rural Lib, the only institution where new faculty perceive a norm for teaching development, is the institution with the best ranking for policies which support teaching.

Discussion

The findings might be partially explained by institutional type: as the orientation of the institution moves from teaching to research , expectations for teaching decrease. Faculty at community colleges generally are not expected to do research (Bergquist, 1992), and certainly research universities earned that label for a reason. I remind the reader that the instrument in this study measured not just a norm for teaching, but a norm for specific behaviors which could lead the faculty member to more effective teaching. One can imagine a community college where faculty teach with little support from the leadership to excel in the classroom, or a research university where the leadership encourages the faculty to be as effective teachers as possible. Hence the argument, " a norm for teaching development exists where norms for research are not competing," doesn't hold. For if that were the case, then certainly Corma would exhibit a teaching development norm. Further, the unexpected result that Rural Lib College has a teaching norm while Urban Lib does not, causes one to wonder if differences in teaching expectations between institutions can be explained by more than their Carnegie classification.

Corma Community College met the criteria on only one dimension of norms -- Behavior. Why does Rural Lib have a teaching norm and Corma not? Recall that Rural Lib scored better than Corma for policies which support teaching. Both institutions make teaching the primary criteria for tenure and both institutions seriously consider teaching quality for salary increases. But they differ on the other policies. First, Rural Lib requires a

teaching demonstration during the hiring process and Corma does not. Second, although Corma offers a teaching award and Rural Lib does not, the award at Corma is for successful uses of technology in the classroom; it does not award otherwise effective and superior teaching. Additionally, the fact that Rural Lib does not sponsor a teaching award may in fact increase the culture for teaching, for an institution which wants to encourage superior teaching in all its faculty should not reward just one. Third, although Rural Lib's teaching development center is new, I think it may do a better job of helping faculty to improve their teaching because of the availability of consultants to help them identify specific problems. Corma does better than Rural Lib on the evaluation policy; Corma requires a yearly evaluation while Rural Lib doesn't require a full evaluation until the third year review.

I summarize the differences between the two institutions this way: the policies at Corma reflect and support the faculty member's role as a teacher. The policies at Rural Lib also reflect and support the faculty member's role as a teacher, but may be designed to *enhance* teaching as well. Still, a great proportion of the new faculty at Corma reported that they engage in the behaviors which might lead to improved teaching even though they didn't perceive expectations or negative sanctions for such behavior. According to the norms framework I presented, this instance can arise if the institution is full of individuals with similar values. This can certainly be the case at a community college, where faculty who prefer to teach over research tend to congregate (Dey, Ramirez, Korn, & Astin, 1993). A group of individuals alone cannot create a culture for teaching (although individual values are an important component of organizational culture). Individual behaviors and values need to be supported by strong institutional expectations. Otherwise, values will shift as individuals enter and leave the institution. Clark's (1970) concept of organizational saga is appropriate here. If the institution does not carry a strong "organizational saga" for teaching, individual values for teaching may eventually erode.

Why did Urban Lib College not emerge as having a teaching norm? Again a look at the institutional profiles offers some possible explanations. Although Urban Lib has one of the most thorough evaluation systems compared to the other institutions and a merit pay policy which rewards teaching, the tenure policy allows for the promotion of average teachers if they excel in scholarship. Also its system for selecting teaching award winners has been arbitrary and at the time of the survey, no teaching development center existed. This is not to say that the Urban Lib administrators or faculty don't value teaching, but rather that the policies there don't support a culture in which teaching development could flourish.

The results of this study lead me to four conclusions: 1) Norms theory can be applied to study teaching culture in higher education; 2) In terms of norms theory, some institutions maintain a culture supportive of teaching development and some do not; 3) Teaching norms are closely associated with institutional type, but institutional type does not completely explain the differences in teaching norms; and 4) Institutional policies may have an impact on the development of teaching norms.

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Appendix

42. Please read the statements below. On the first scale indicate how expected it is for faculty on your campus to engage in each behavior. On the second scale, indicate how characteristic each is of you. Respond as each applies to your undergraduate teaching.

	Expected of Faculty				Characteristic of You			
	Not at all			Very	Not at all			Very
a. sharing ideas about teaching methods with colleagues	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
b. introducing new teaching methods or procedures	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
c. sharing syllabi with colleagues	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
d. observing each others' classroom teaching	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
e. attending professional development activities to enhance teaching	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
f. incorporating knowledge of different learning styles into one's teaching	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
g. spending time with students outside of class time or office hours	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

43. For each item below, please indicate which consequences are most likely to occur if a faculty member on your campus repeatedly did not engage in the behavior. Circle as many consequences as apply to each situation.

NH = nothing would happen
PE = poor teaching evaluations from students
LR = loss of respect from peers
CT = colleague would talk with the faculty member
HT = head of department would talk with the faculty member
DT = dean or other administrator would talk with the faculty member

a. sharing ideas about teaching methods with colleagues	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT
b. introducing new teaching methods or procedures	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT
c. sharing syllabi with colleagues	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT
d. observing each others' classrooms	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT
e. attending professional activities to enhance teaching	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT
f. incorporating knowledge of different learning styles into one's teaching	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT
g. spending time with students outside of class time or office hours	NH	PE	LR	CT	HT	DT